through "third"). Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen. 872 [873]

In the Rowanduz district there are small primary schools at Dyana and Hatas, but the center of education is in Rowanduz. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Erbil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if mature enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. [527] Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rowanduz there were in 1951 about 150 pupils

are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [668]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the woman, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jayjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, 527 796
and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the
briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual 535
type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebra-
tion, and is performed by a circle of men and women with
interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually
brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The
dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the
direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going
in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in
"walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The
dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a
shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish 533
music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians,
and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key,
characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a
rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowanduz 534
played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the
tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The
lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not
found at present in the town. A program of typical 207
Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq 533
government radio station. The investigator usually [123]
tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the
house in which he was living at Rowanduz. Once the 871
eldest daughter presented a request that "the beg tell [207]
the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at
the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's
knowledge of radio.

district have made the trip, and are entitled to call themselves hajji or "pilgrim." Three men from the town went in 1950, and the wealthy merchants, such as Hajji Ibrahim and Hajji Muhammad Amin, who have completed the task have been mentioned. The return of pilgrims is an event of great importance in Rowanduz, and a crowd gathers to greet them at Kawlokan below the town. The pilgrims are escorted from the bus to their homes, accompanied by the music of drum, flute, and tambourine. Banquets are held for them, and each is expected to give a detailed account of his journey. They return with many souvenirs, such as rosaries, which are distributed to relatives and friends. A pilgrim commands a certain amount of public respect, and persons often stipulate sums in their wills for another to make the pilgrimage in their name. It is interesting that wealthy commoners can afford this undertaking, while many mullas or priests are rarely able to realize it. Chieftains or members of the government elite who are pilgrims are comparatively few in number. Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian made the pilgrimage to avoid the police. Few of the aristocrats or officials in Rowanduz itself could claim the distinction. The duty of Jihad or Holy War only enters into everyday life as a matter of conversation, usually with reference to Israel, and that of fasting will be discussed below.

788 788 527 [431] 554 788 779 [721]

Islam also includes a large body of social legislation, and that which is pertinent to this study has already been indicated. The use of alcoholic beverages, 000

about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-Awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The ninth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayjani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [782]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jayjani Qurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charshima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Nawruz in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

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doors at some favored spot, such as the waterfall of Baykhal, and there is dancing accompanied by flutes and drums. It might be mentioned that on these days, as well as Jayjani Qurban, many persons, particularly the girls, stain their hands with henna, just as at a wedding. 527● [53] [302]

The second observance is concerned with the curious figure of Khidir Elyas and takes place in the autumn. "The mulla has nothing to say about Khidir Elyas, nor does he tell the people when the days come. A few people do not recognize these days." Khidir Elyas (Arabic, Khidir, "the Green One," and Elyas, Elijah) is a peculiar character of folklore, the belief in whom is singularly widespread in the Middle East. He has been discussed in some detail in a large number of works treating popular religion in the Islamic world, and appears to be a synthesis of such heroes of romance as Gilgamesh, Moses, Elijah, and Alexander the Great.[1] In Upper Egypt there are supposed to be two persons who travel together, Khidir and Elyas, and in other places only the one. His salient characteristics are his power to confer blessings and his immortality, for he is believed to have drunk from the Fountain of Life. The following narrative was recorded in Rowanduz: [183] 773 776

> Khidir Elyas is a holy man who lives forever. He walks at night and chases away evil spirits. Whoever experiences misfortune need only cry out to him for aid. One night I was bringing a load of rice to Rowanduz by mule. The mule lost his footing and fell. I shouted, "O Khidir Elyas, I have [492]

[1] For example, Tritton, 1951, p. 49.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'idd-l-qurbān* or *qurbān bairām*, that is spent in Minā on the return from 'Arafāt to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safā* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minā where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minā. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

sacred powers of the derwish and the practical powers of the political leader; both are equally potent in the ritual situation, and their character may be covered best by the concept of personal charisma. 789 621 554

THE FEAST

The feast occupies a very prominent place in the communal life of the village, and is regarded as an active agent in producing solidarity and unity, as well as being a symbol of such unity. The fact of eating together in itself produces certain mutual obligations and solemnizes feelings of sympathy. The Bedouin ideal, that any person with whom you have eaten is inviolable for a minimum period of time, is not actually applied in Kurdish territory, but is well known and approved of as being highly ethical. Essentially similar, though less formal, obligations are implied in the Kurdish concept of sharing the bread. 621 574 571

Furthermore, the feast is a forum for conspicuous consumption, and thus gives the host an opportunity to display his wealth, and to create and re-affirm ties of friendship by generosity. Thus the person who gives the feast can enhance his prestige in the village considerably; hospitality is an integral aspect of the Kurdish ideal of a *man*, conversely, a person with a reputation for miserliness suffers corresponding loss of prestige. [554]

A feast in one form or another is thus a fairly frequent occurrance in the village. Since it will involve at least a major part and usually the whole of the village, it provides one of the major occasions in which leadership and moderate rivalry is expressed, and in which the relative prestige and resultant total status positions become systematized. Essentially, these feasts are of two major types, (1) connected with religious festivals, or (2) marking transitions of status in the life cycle of members of the society.

Religious festivals. In some villages, the whole of the holy month of Ramadan is celebrated by regular communal evening meals at the mosque or in the village square. In this arrangement, either each household may in turn serve as hosts for the whole village, or each family brings its own food. Only the men partake in the meal; for them, it becomes a social occasion of major importance. The feast 621 574 527

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikhs* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-

726 *dakhalat* (as it is called). They described
727 in stirring tones how they retired to some caves a couple of hundred yards from the village and watched the bombs falling on their homes. The only fly in the ointment was that it was their own houses being destroyed and not somebody else's. Apparently they regarded the affair with some amusement, and themselves as naughty boys who had been punished by having to rebuild their houses afterwards. It had taken them two months' hard work to rearrange the village before the onset of winter; so they decided that in future they would not be led astray by promise of excitement unless they were on the side of the British.

• 527 Another example of the sporting spirit
857 of the Kurds and their disregard for safety is shown in the great sling fights which take place between the children of adjacent villages or of different parts of

[text continued on p.392(A)]

[p.391(B)]